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ABSTRACT

Following a preface and a chapter tracing the rise of the women's movement, this report provides a brief overview of the Ford Foundation's ongoing funding commitment to the importance of the women's movement. The report is divided into three time periods: 1973-1980, 1980-1983, and 1983 into the future. Early efforts emphasize issues of female poverty, women's economic roles, and the study and elimination of sex discrimination in educational institutions. Women's programs in the International Division, formed in 1973, focuses on improving women's productive capacities and opportunities for employment and earned income, promoting sex equity in education, and understanding and reducing cultural constraints on women's social and economic participation. In 1980 the Ford Foundation, by special appropriation, raised support for women's programs to $19.3 million and created the Women's Program Group which subdivided support into thematic areas of urban poverty, rural poverty and resources, human rights and social justice, governance and public policy, education and culture, and international affairs. Through its use of many exemplary program descriptions and photographs this report emphasizes the Ford Foundation belief that feminist ideas and programs should be incorporated into public policy. Future goals include encouraging future feminist generations, stabilizing networks that serve women, and maintaining clear focuses on employment and income, education and culture, and health and the family. (CBC)

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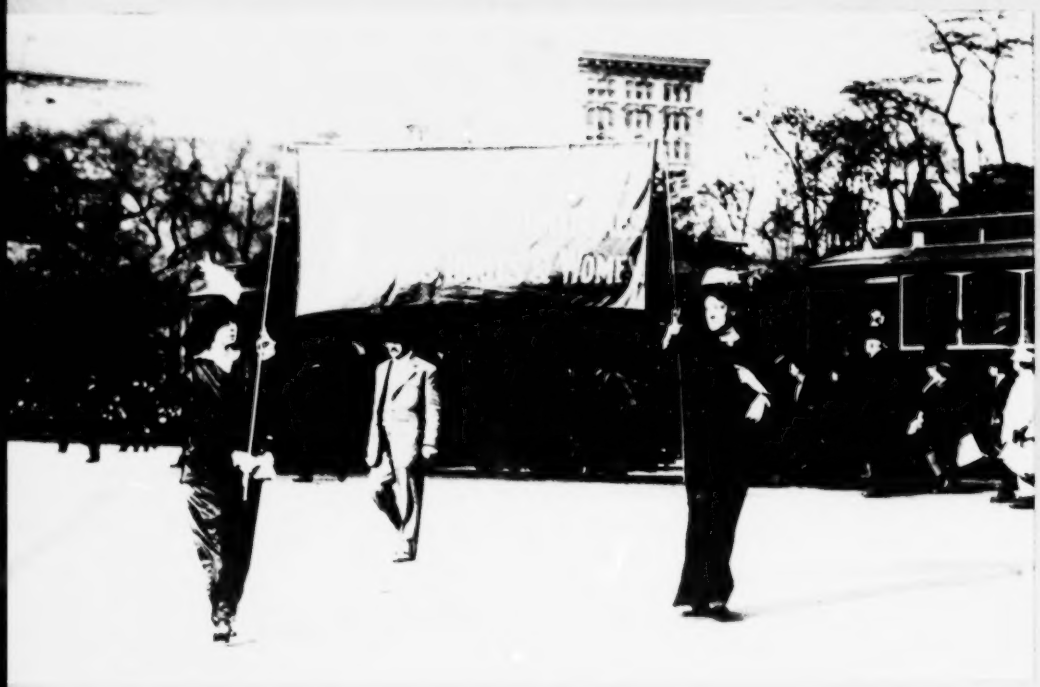
In 1972 the Ford Foundation began making grants aimed explicitly at enhancing the rights and opportunities of women. Over the next fourteen years the program evolved from a few discrete activities into a major influence on the Foundation's work. To date, more than $70 million has been granted for efforts specifically on behalf of women. Reflecting the distribution of the Foundation's overall grants budget, approximately two-thirds of this total has been devoted to work in the United States and one-third for projects in developing countries.

The pages that follow trace the history of the Foundation's women's programs, beginning with a brief discussion of the context in which they evolved. The description of program development within the Foundation gives special attention to a Trustee-approved special appropriation, which doubled grant making on behalf of women between 1980 and 1983. The last section presents future program directions we now envision.

This paper, researched and written principally by Kathryn Burns and edited by William Rust, served as a report to the Trustees on the special appropriation. By publicly sharing an account of one institution's engagement with a complex subject, we hope to encourage others to join the Foundation in this important and rewarding work.

Franklin A. Thomas
President
Ford Foundation



A 1911 suffragist parade in New York City. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, feminist efforts to improve women's rights and opportunities focused on winning the right to vote.

If feminism is broadly defined as a concern for redressing unequal power and privilege based on gender, then feminist thought has an international history dating back centuries. Only since the middle of the nineteenth century, however, have women organized in large numbers and in sustained ways to improve their rights and opportunities. Women's movements emerged most visibly in the industrializing nations, where the roles of men and women were transformed by new conditions of work and by the concomitant growth of cities, spread of secular education, improvements in health care, and advances in communications. These changes created unprecedented challenges to traditional patterns of work and family life and laid the groundwork for new perceptions of women's and, ultimately, men's roles.

The immediate context of organized feminism's development was the extension of

political rights to groups long denied them. In the United States and Great Britain, for example, the antislavery movement mobilized many women who began to recognize the limits to their own rights and opportunities, limits that kept them from voting, owning property, and entering certain professions. In Russia, the Emancipation Proclamation of 1861 freed the serfs and inspired women to organize for their own legal emancipation.

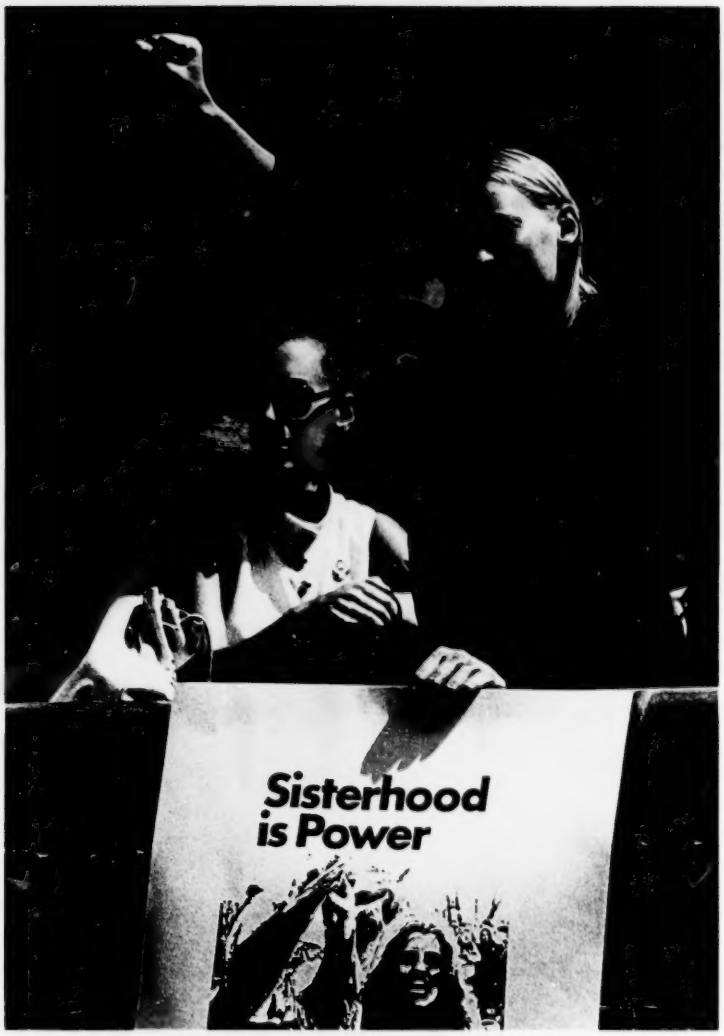
By the turn of the century, feminism had given rise to a movement for women's rights that became the subject of much public debate, particularly in England and the United States. Underlying much of that movement was the belief that women naturally possessed a unique capacity for self-sacrifice and nurturance, which they should be permitted to contribute to politics, education, and work. Allowing women wider political and social roles not only would have salutary effects on the administration of the public good, but also would help women become better, more informed wives and mothers.

The organized, sometimes militant struggle eventually narrowed to winning one right in particular: the right to vote. Distilled to a campaign for female suffrage, the women's rights movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries gathered strength in many countries. As a result, women throughout the industrialized world won the right to vote about fifty years after universal male suffrage.

Excluded for the most part from this broadening struggle for equality was Africa, where the European scramble for colonial territory offered little promise of extended political rights for either male or female colonial subjects. In Egypt, however, there were signs that women were mobilizing. In 1922 a small group of prominent women, returning from a feminist conference in Europe, staged a dramatic public unveiling in Alexandria. This bold act led to the first Arab conference to discuss nationalist aspirations for the region and to demands for such social reforms as raising the legal minimum age of marriage for girls, abolishing forced marriage, and extending all levels of free education to girls and boys alike. Groups of women dedicated to the cause of women's suffrage also formed in China and Latin America.

The feminism of formal political rights did little to improve women's disadvantaged status or to alter male and female roles. Offering scant hope of change for the poor and illiterate, the rights to own property and vote were potential levers to power, but principally for middle-class women with sufficient time and energy to

During the 1960s, women's movements re-emerged as a force for social change. To create an environment in which reforms could flourish, feminists sought to raise consciousness about the accustomed patterns of behavior of women and men.



push them. Furthermore, suffragists soon discovered that the vote did not lead to any notable "feminization" of politics, in part because the single-issue campaign for the vote had left feminists without a unified platform to work toward other goals. With the exception of a few female pioneers, politics remained almost entirely a male preserve, and traditional social roles went undisturbed.

The intense feminist organizing of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was followed by a long hiatus, during which new models of social change arose. Socialist experiments in Russia, China, and elsewhere took as one goal the

recasting of women's traditional roles. At the core of these efforts was the conviction that women's equality must begin not with rights but with economic independence, based on participation in productive labor outside the bounds of home and family. Although women's roles in socialist countries have indeed changed dramatically, such transformations did not occur without considerable resistance and strain, nor did they guarantee an end to gender-based discrimination. Moreover, women's organizing in these countries raised suspicions among the virtually all-male governing hierarchies, which viewed feminism as divisive and repressed spontaneous activism in favor of state-sponsored women's federations.

A New Feminism

The rekindling of feminist activism in the 1960s was closely related to other liberation movements. The civil rights and black power movements in the United States, as well as peace, decolonization, and student movements in other countries, shared the assumption that eliminating discrepancies of power and privilege required more than legal changes and institutional reforms. The most basic, accustomed patterns of awareness and behavior would have to be altered as well. These movements, therefore, sought to create an environment in which reforms could have lasting effects.

Within these social justice movements, many women became conscious of the discriminatory treatment they routinely faced, and began a separate exploration into the causes of and remedies for their disadvantage. Their efforts differed fundamentally from those of feminists in previous decades. Whereas earlier generations of activists had sought the "feminization" of politics, education, and the professions, contemporary feminists inquired more deeply into the very concepts of "femininity" and "masculinity." How much were they truly natural, biologically determined, and universal, and how much were they the complex products of particular cultures, customs, and ideologies? Pressing these questions, the new generation of feminists began looking for the roots of power and disadvantage in the everyday, seemingly trivial relations between women and men — on the street, in the workplace, and especially in the home. Ingrained processes of gender differentiation were explored, then challenged, and a vigorous, spontaneous movement for change began to emerge in the United States, Europe, Canada, Australia, and elsewhere.

In many ways, the conditions were favorable for the rapid growth of what became popularly known as "women's lib." In advanced industrial nations, unprece-

Although women have joined the labor force in increasing numbers since the turn of the century, the gap between the wages of women and men has remained largely unchanged. This gap is due primarily to segregation of women in low-paying jobs—particularly nursing, domestic service, and secretarial work.

dented numbers of women had joined the labor force. Their access to education had also improved considerably since the turn of the century. And for both women and men, options for sexual expression had been increased by the wide availability of new, highly effective forms of contraception. Taken alone, these trends suggest that women generally enjoyed greater possibilities for autonomy than ever before. Achieving many of the goals of earlier generations of feminists, women had finally begun to participate in the "public sphere."

But increased participation had by no means brought an end to unequal treatment. On the contrary, women's deepening involvement in the labor force emphasized their unequal status. Despite record-breaking numbers of women working outside the home, the gap between the wages of women and men remained unchanged. This gap was largely due to gender-based job segregation, which confined women to low-prestige and low-paying fields of employment, particularly nursing, domestic service, and secretarial work. Moreover, the "double burden" of unpaid housework and paid employment, long the lot of poor working women with families, taxed the energies of more and more middle-class women. Although women had taken on new forms of labor outside the home, men did not assume much responsibility for the traditionally female tasks of housework and caring for children and other dependents.

Nor did women's and girls' access to education automatically encourage them to challenge barriers to equality. Instead, public and private schooling in the 1960s reinforced notions of separate and unequal opportunities for girls and boys, women and men. Seldom did textbooks or other academic readings reveal women's contributions to history, public affairs, the arts and sciences, and the national and international economy. Female students received little encouragement to enter traditionally male fields. And although improved contraceptives enabled women to exercise greater control over their own fertility, they did not create the basis for equality in male-female relationships. The availability of contraceptives is, after all, only one factor among many influencing women's and men's expressions of sexuality.

Faced with these barriers, feminists organized in a variety of ways to overcome them. The feminism of rights was once again a potent force. Women formed organizations that lobbied for reforms and then demanded and monitored their enforcement. Work on "women's issues" also involved many new forms of direct action.

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including female entry into nontraditional fields of employment, new scholarship on women, and attempts to resolve problems of health and family life — for example, experimental day-care centers, abortion counseling and clinics, shelters for battered women, and health manuals and self-help groups.

Feminism in the Third World

As women's movements in the West gained strength, their case for social change began to reach an international audience. In 1967 the United Nations encouraged worldwide efforts to improve women's status by adopting a resolution for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. Feminism's official reception in Third World nations, however, was highly ambivalent. Formal measures urging particular attention to women had negligible impact on most national leaders and policy makers in the late 1960s. And with important exceptions, Third World women applied little organized pressure for change.

By the mid-1970s official attitudes had shifted considerably. The U.N. community declared 1975 as the International Women's Year and assembled in Mexico City for an international conference on women's status. There, the "Decade for the Advancement of Women" was adopted for the years 1976 to 1985. The global consequences of this international attention to women's problems and potential proved significant. Many Third World governments established women's bureaus and commissions, taking the first official measures to improve women's lives, or at least to become familiar with their needs. In Latin America, a strong and vocal feminist movement emerged, fostering social change and attention to women's issues in many parts of the region. The government of Bangladesh declared that 10 percent of government jobs would be reserved for female professionals. Other governments took similar measures, and an official consensus emerged that sex discrimination was a problem governments could no longer ignore.

Official concern about women's status came at a time of rising dissatisfaction and debate over national development efforts in the Third World. During the 1960s — the first U.N. "development decade" — policies designed primarily to boost aggregate measures of countries' economic growth often did so at the expense of jobs and livelihoods, particularly among the poorest groups. National incomes might actually rise while conditions of poverty worsened for broad sectors of the popula-

Meeting in Mexico City in 1975, delegates from 110 countries sought to focus worldwide attention on women's problems and to increase women's participation in national, regional, and international policy making.

tion, displaced by large-scale commercial exploitation of the resources upon which they depended. Moreover, the explosive growth of Third World populations had shown little sign of responding to the promotion of contraception. The average Kenyan woman, for example, bears eight children—the highest fertility rate in the world.

Pioneering researchers such as Ester Boserup, author of *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970), began to analyze these experiences and to identify connections between modernization and female poverty. Across geographic and cultural boundaries, certain constants were becoming clear. Poverty was—and still is—disproportionately the lot of the vast majority of Third World women, despite the fact that they work hard, often bearing primary responsibility for food crops in addition to childrearing. Their labor, however, has usually been uncompensated or grossly underpaid in comparison to men's. In many areas, male migration has complicated the situation. Seeking wage labor, men have left women alone to bear the double burden of subsistence farming and child care. In areas where women have migrated to find jobs—particularly in Latin America—their labor has been heavily

concentrated in domestic employment and the informal sector, a vulnerable and often poorly recompensed "gray area" of the economy comprising the self-employed and those working in small shops, services, and industries. Because of their undervalued economic roles, women have usually not been included in development plans aiming to improve the agricultural sector or to create opportunities for nonfarm employment.

During the 1970s research on the role of women in national modernization continued to focus on how development efforts might actually be diminishing women's status. A major problem, particularly among poor and minority women, has been lack of access to resources. Government training, technical assistance, and credit programs aimed at modernizing production have often been administered by and targeted toward men. Women have been left with rudimentary methods of production in traditional economic activities. And as technologies improved, the knowledge, experience, and income gap between men and women typically has grown.

As this disturbing picture of structural female poverty stirred debate among development planners in the 1970s, Third World women of different classes, races, and ethnic backgrounds began to organize. In many ways, these incipient women's movements were unlike feminist activism in Western societies. For example, the barriers faced by Third World women were different from those encountered by women in developed nations. While Western feminist movements grew strong in a context of relative abundance, Third World women's movements emerged under much less prosperous conditions.

The crux of many Third World women's movements is the complex problem of female poverty, wrote Madhu Kishwar in *In Search of Answers:*

> Most of the struggles seem to have been triggered off around basic survival issues of the rural poor, and begin with the organization of the men and women around economic issues. Scarcity and restrictions of use of fuel, water, forest rights, and demands for minimum wages and implementation of food for work programmes, especially during times of distress, have been the starting points of many rural struggles. Once women are galvanized in large numbers during the course of these struggles, they inevitably raise specific issues concerning their own oppression and powerlessness.

Women at work on a tea plantation in Java, Indonesia. Because of their undervalued economic roles, women have frequently been overlooked in development plans aimed at improving agriculture.

A complementary effort has been the work of feminist researchers, teachers, and organizers, who investigate and criticize prevailing development strategies. They have contributed to knowledge about the precise contours of women's disadvantage, taking into account the many differences among women in terms of race, class and caste, and ethnic and religious background.

Although issues and approaches have differed greatly among First and Third World women, a consensus is emerging about many of the common problems they share. Modernization processes have not ensured improved status and livelihoods for women, but they have helped lay the basis for better communication and clearer understanding of women's lives around the world. As links among the world's cultures and societies grow stronger, the networks among women's movements will continue to grow and to address the problems of uneven progress — particularly for poor and minority women.

This Indian hand-block printer is part of the vast informal sector, a vulnerable and often poorly compensated "gray area" of the economy comprising the self-employed and those working in small shops, services, and industries.

The Foundation first responded to the issues raised by the women's movement in 1972, when President McGeorge Bundy appointed an advisory committee to improve the representation of both women and minorities in the Foundation's professional ranks. Since that time, dramatic changes have taken place in the composition of the Foundation's staff, both in the New York office and overseas (see table, page 14). This commitment to affirmative action has also been extended to the Foundation's dealings with its grantees, in the form of an explicit External Affirmative Action Policy.

Just as the Foundation's internal staff composition came under review in the early 1970s, so too did grant making on behalf of women. Many staff members believed that women's rights and needs were well within the scope of the Foundation's mandate "to advance human welfare" and that program models

developed by the minority civil rights program offered useful guides for first steps. Although women had benefited from the Foundation's poverty, family-planning, and school-reform programs, relatively few women or women's organizations were direct recipients of Foundation support. Moreover, no sustained women's program existed.

Ford Foundation personnel by race and gender.

	1973	1979	1986
		Percent Minority	
Trustees	6.3	20.0	23.5
Professional Staff	6.6	8.3	14.0
Support Staff	23.1	28.1	37.8
		Percent Women	
Trustees	12.5	15.0	17.6
Professional Staff	22.9	32.6	53.2
Support Staff	89.1	86.7	82.0

In 1972 Bundy appointed a small, interdivisional Task Force on Women to investigate grant-making possibilities in the area of women's rights and opportunities. Its five original members began a wide-ranging exploration of subjects relating to women's status, changing gender roles, work patterns, and the family – primarily in the United States, but also in developing countries. Discussions soon placed the heaviest emphasis on questions of poverty and women's economic roles. Task Force members reasoned that improving women's economic status would help improve other aspects of their lives and their families' well-being. This became a guiding assumption as members investigated sex discrimination, both in the law and in social practice; access to education and employment; health and family issues, including the sensitive matter of reproductive choice; and changing assumptions about "proper" sex roles. Almost a year of study and consultation culminated in a 1973 report to the Board of Trustees, which recommended Foundation support for "a program starting with a concern for women's economic role but reaching out to many of the ramifications that develop from that...."

As a result, the National Affairs and the Education and Research divisions each set aside $1 million in reserve funds for this program and assigned responsibility for women's grants to particular program officers. In the International Division, the pace of developments was slower. Some program officers believed that women's

issues would distract attention from more pressing needs in developing countries; others were concerned that women's programs would impose Western values. A number of staff members were interested in such programs but felt unprepared to explore grant-making opportunities without additional female staff. Subsequently, the New York international staff established a committee to investigate grant-making opportunities, and the division assigned a "circuit-riding" program officer to help the overseas offices develop women-specific grants.

National Affairs

Women's programs in the National Affairs Division were built around one central priority: improving the economic security of disadvantaged women, particularly low-income and minority women. Although strategies varied according to the targeted groups of women and their economic circumstances, one broad strategy was, and remains, a crucial component of U.S. grant making: working for changes in the law and enforcement of women's legal rights.

By the 1970s major laws to end sex discrimination in employment had been passed in the United States. For example, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act in 1963 and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act one year later. Translating the legislated ideal into reality, however, proved to be elusive. Women in the U.S. labor force were, and still are, concentrated in a few traditionally female occupations, earning, on average, 60¢ for every dollar that men earn. For minority women, economic disadvantage was particularly acute. Inadequate enforcement of the law and contradictory court opinions helped perpetuate the wage gap. Achieving fair, consistent standards and results would require sustained advocacy.

Much of the initial Foundation work in women's programming stressed litigation and advocacy to secure equal rights. In the early 1970s several organizations and public-interest law firms handled sex discrimination cases, winning major victories in the courts. Challenging discrimination in employment, health services, education, credit, and property rights, these groups sought constitutional interpretations that would render sex a suspect classification. The Foundation, following its tradition of support for minority civil rights, backed litigation on behalf of women with grants to the ACLU Women's Rights Project, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund's Minority Women's Employment Program, the Mexican American

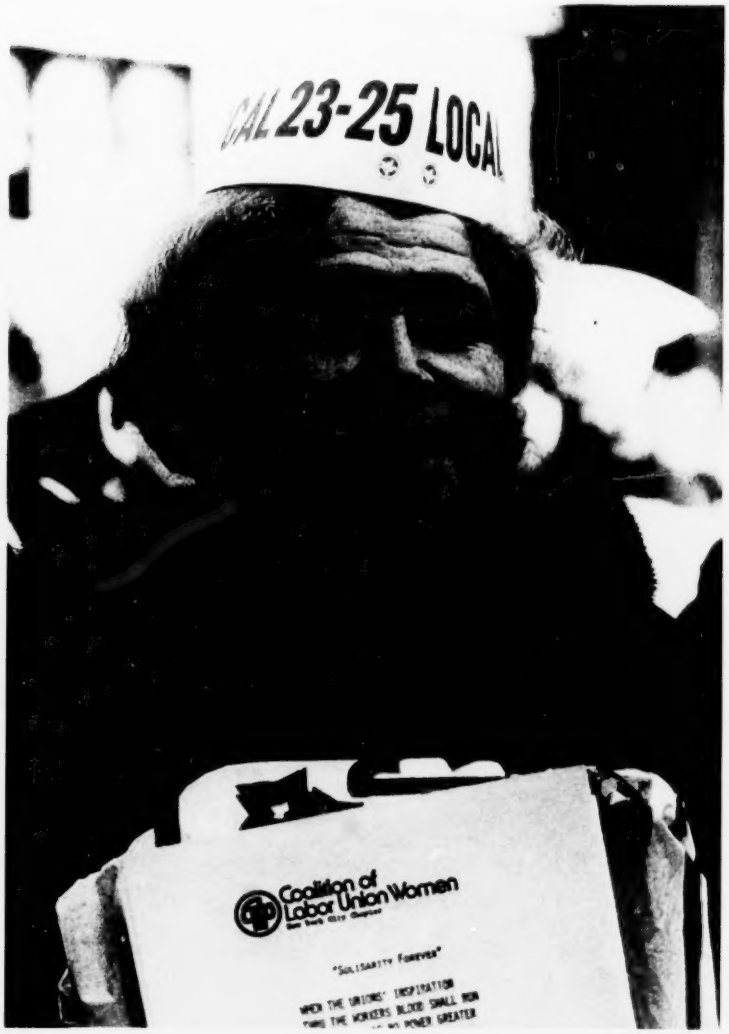
Legal Defense and Educational Fund's Chicana Rights Project, and the League of Women Voters Education Fund. Grants also went to two public-interest law firms engaged in sex discrimination work: the Women's Law Fund of Cleveland and the Center for Law and Social Policy's Women's Rights Project in Washington, D.C. Other grants helped train law students and lawyers in ways to combat sex discrimination and supported early meetings of what is now the major national convention on sex-discrimination matters for lawyers and law students, the National Conference on Women and the Law.

These groups' successes took many forms. Court victories established critical principles and changed the lives of many women who won back pay, the right to compete for traditionally male jobs, and access to credit, health care, and educational and athletic programs. Even when particular cases were lost, the effects on public opinion were substantial. For example, the loss of a major case concerning disability benefits for pregnant employees drew considerable attention, ultimately leading Congress to take legislative action on behalf of pregnant women. To complement litigation, the Foundation supported a range of advocacy projects, which included research on enforcement of equal employment laws; basic rights education for disadvantaged women; and periodic public reports on women's status in such areas as nontraditional employment, union leadership, and pension systems. The status and problems of minority women received special attention.

Early Ford Foundation support was crucial to both litigation and advocacy on behalf of U.S. women's rights. The Foundation, finding itself on terrain where few other funders trod, made sizable, long-term commitments that enabled new organizations to play critical roles in defining and protecting rights and in increasing public awareness of discrimination and its consequences.

Recognizing that many of the problems perpetuating the "wage gap" were not amenable to legal remedies, the National Affairs Division pursued several extralegal efforts to enable women to hold their own both in the workplace and at home. Day care had already received attention because of its importance to working people with children, particularly low-income, single mothers. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the Foundation backed national organizations involved in setting standards for better day care, assessing its costs, and developing national policy. The concerted push for a national day-care program was stymied, however, by President Nixon's veto of a major day-care bill in 1971.

Because of its importance to working people with children—particularly low-income, single mothers—day care was one of the major funding priorities of the Foundation's emerging women's programs.



To increase the number of women leaders in the workplace, the Foundation has supported training courses for union members that cover such topics as women's legal rights, women's role in labor history, and public speaking.

As prospects for a coherent national program faded, and as the Foundation became more deeply engaged in women's programs, support increased for experiments to strengthen informal day-care services on which poor parents rely and to enlarge the public schools' role in both preschool and school-age day care. A few grants continued support for particularly important groups representing disadvantaged children—for example, the National Black Child Development Institute and the Women's Action Alliance, which developed nonsexist teaching curricula and toys. Total expenditures of more than $3 million made day care a major funding priority among women's programs in the 1970s.

Another strategy was training women for leadership in the workplace. In 1972 the Foundation supported a study by the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations (SILR) at Cornell University on barriers to women's participation in union leadership. Based on this study's recommendation of special leadership training courses for women, SILR designed, and the Foundation supported, the Trade Union Women's Studies Program (TUWSP). Courses covered such topics as women's legal rights, women's role in American labor history, problems in the workplace, handling grievances, and public speaking. To meet the needs of various

groups of women. TUWSP provided training programs of different lengths, ranging from three-day summer sessions to one- and two-year programs. Of the students enrolled in year-long courses, two-thirds to three-quarters were minority women, and more than one-half were sole supporters of their families, which in some cases included several children. The TUWSP course of study has shown exceptional results, producing organizers, editors of union newspapers, national and state executive board members, shop stewards, and negotiators.

To establish a base of knowledge about women's participation in the labor force and its impact on households, the Foundation helped the Urban Institute create the Center for Policy Research on Women and Families. Since 1975 the center has assembled an interdisciplinary team of researchers to examine sex discrimination in employment. The center's analyses have frequently been used in congressional testimony and as the basis for new legislation. In addition, the Foundation granted funds to the Center for Women Policy Studies for the development of policy options that would improve women's access to credit. Foundation grants also backed individual researchers who produced important studies of women at work, among them Louise Howe, author of *Pink Collar Workers;* Barbara Wertheimer, author of *We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America;* Ralph Smith of the Urban Institute, author of *The Subtle Revolution;* and Connie Field, producer and director of the film *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter.*

During the 1970s the growing problem of teenage mothers and their increasing welfare dependency also became a major Foundation concern. A 1973 grant to the Urban Institute produced a major study on the explosive growth of female-headed families entitled *Time of Transition,* by economists Heather Ross and Isabel Sawhill. The National Affairs staff also turned its attention to assisting "high-risk" teenage mothers. A 1978 grant enabled the Sisterhood of Black Single Mothers to begin an experimental "surrogate mother" program, which linked young welfare mothers with older, self-sufficient women who had successfully raised children of their own, often under difficult circumstances. The "big sisters" encouraged the teenage mothers to return to school or begin job training, helped arrange for child care, and generally provided attention and support as needed. The impressive results of the sisterhood's small-scale community project led to Foundation support for a major national demonstration, the effectiveness of which has been studied intensively in cities across the United States.

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From 1972 through 1979, National Affairs devoted approximately $13 million to expanding economic opportunities for women. Many of these grants were the seeds of later program development. More importantly, these grants established the Foundation's presence in the field, demonstrated the possibility of effective work, and provided critical support to leaders in the U.S. women's movement.

Education and Research

The Foundation's increased involvement in women's programs came at a propitious moment in education. In June 1972 Congress passed Title IX of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex in all federally funded education programs. Further legislative steps followed — notably the 1974 Women's Educational Equity Act and the 1976 Vocational Education Amendments — both of which dramatically exposed the nature and extent of discrimination in U.S. schools, colleges, and universities. Because education plays such a critical role in shaping women's aspirations and skills, the Education and Public Policy Division initiated a program to promote equal access to schooling at all levels and jobs in education, and to eliminate sex discrimination in both educational materials and the teaching process itself.

From 1972 on, substantial Foundation resources went to organizations that monitored public agencies charged with enforcing laws against sex discrimination in education. Foundation support also enabled these groups to offer technical assistance to the many schools, colleges, and state departments of education trying to conform with the law. When monitoring and assistance was ineffective, the Foundation supported litigation to promote sex equity. Chief grantees included the Association of American Colleges' Project on the Status and Education of Women, the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the Center for Law and Social Policy, the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund's Project on Equal Education Rights (PEER), the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) Educational and Legal Defense Fund, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the American Friends Service Committee, and the ACLU Foundation of Georgia. The work of these groups, like that of groups concerned with women's employment, brought new learning opportunities to millions of students and inspired others to challenge restrictive practices.

Florence Howe, visiting professor in the English Department at the City University of New York, is director of the Feminist Press, which in the 1970s received Foundation support for nonsexist high school and college texts.

The Education and Research staff also developed strategies to address gender bias in teaching. The early 1970s were years of considerable "consciousness raising" in this regard. Researchers with new perspectives were pointing out, for example, how much more active and important Dick seemed than either Sally or Jane in the traditional grade-school primers. Because the way schoolchildren learn gender-role stereotypes was poorly understood, the Foundation made several grants to analyze the differences in treatment of boys and girls in schools. Other grants either helped teachers become aware of gender bias and its consequences or concentrated on educating parents about gender stereotyping and its effects on children's aspirations.

The Foundation also stimulated change at the college and university level. The relatively few female professors in the 1970s became increasingly concerned about the dearth of attention to women in the curriculum and in the research of their colleagues. In 1972 the Foundation responded with a program of research grants—the first of its kind—to encourage study of the roles and contributions of women in diverse societies. By the end of the program four years later, 122 grants

amounting to more than $1 million had been made to faculty and graduate-level scholars (mostly women) under the Faculty Fellowship Program and the Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship in Women's Studies. In this way, the Foundation simultaneously emphasized the importance of scholarship about women and helped advance the careers of talented young academics with an interest in feminist issues.

By mid-decade the Foundation's emphasis generally shifted from examining gender stereotypes to actively encouraging nonsexist educational practices. For example, a Foundation-supported team of researchers at Harvard University created a widely distributed text, *Undoing Sex Stereotypes: Research and Resources to Educators*, which contained suggestions for teachers on conducting nonsexist classes. Foundation grants also enabled the Education Development Center and the Feminist Press to produce a series of films and supplementary readings on working women and changing gender roles to be used in high school classes.

During the late 1970s a major educational strategy to emerge was building and strengthening new feminist educational institutions. Between 1976 and 1980 Foundation support helped establish six interdisciplinary centers for research on women,* each with its own agenda based on the particular strengths of its affiliated faculty. More flexible than academic departments, research centers house freelance scholars, as well as tenured faculty, and provide opportunities for collaborative research and such experiments as training educational administrators. The Foundation also made grants to encourage the advancement of women in educational administration. As early as 1972 the Foundation had supported a group of female administrators interested in sharing information about their jobs and problems. After 1976 influencing the job-search process to increase women's representation in education became a major line of Foundation-sponsored work. Project AWARE (Assisting Women to Advance through Resources and Encouragement) provided training and placement for women in educational administration at the elementary-and secondary-school level; the HERS (Higher Educational Resources Services) regional projects provided training and placement at the college and university level.

From 1972 through 1979, women's programs in education totaled more than $13 million in grants. This major initiative helped set the direction of future women's programs and provided a strong base on which the special appropriation could build.

International Division

As women and men in increasing numbers of countries were drawing attention to sex discrimination and the need to make girls and women full participants in the development process, the Foundation was positioning itself to encourage expanded opportunities for Third World women. Early in the 1970s the International Division began shifting away from a concentration on building social science programs, academic institutions, and governmental capacity. Increasingly, grants were made to further voluntary organizations' work on critical problems. This readiness to consider proposals from nongovernmental groups did not, however, lead immediately to funding women's programs. First came lengthy discussions of whether women's programs were justified in their own right or gained legitimacy only insofar as they advanced general development objectives. Some staff members also urged the Foundation to be wary of exporting U.S. cultural values.

Where early grant making did occur, the Foundation moved carefully and cautiously, usually to support analyses of discrimination and its consequences. In a few field offices, grants were made to new women's groups, with the expectation that many of them would survive and constitute a base for later programming. By the late 1970s it had become increasingly clear that the empowerment of women was an issue of indigenous concern in the Third World, and all field offices had begun at least exploratory grant making.

The resulting women's programs in the International Division focused on three related areas: improving women's productive capacity and opportunities for employment and earning income; promoting sex equity in education; and understanding and reducing cultural constraints on women's social and economic participation. Two overall strategies emerged to address the numerous issues implied in each of these areas. One was funding basic research to explore and publicize the roles and status of women in developing countries. The second addressed the paucity of women qualified to fill professional positions.

The division's first women's grants not only helped build a base of knowledge and information, but also advanced the research careers of outstanding feminist scholars and helped create the institutions that would continue their pioneering work. For example, both female scholars and women's concerns featured prominently in the Middle East Awards program for population research, jointly funded by the Foundation, the Population Council, and the International Development

Like this Kenyan woman pruning a papaya tree, poor women in many developing countries rely on agriculture for their livelihoods. The Foundation funds programs providing technical assistance to rural women and encourages rural development organizations to include women and women's concerns in their staffing, planning, and extension work.

Research Centre. In 1974 another Cairo office grant helped establish a research center at the American University of Beirut to study women in the Arab world. The Brazil office assisted the Carlos Chagas Foundation in sponsoring a successful research competition in women's studies, which significantly increased the visibility and academic legitimacy of such research in Brazil.

Much of the early Foundation-funded research was concerned with the varieties of women's work throughout the Third World, primarily in agriculture, rural off-farm employment, and the urban informal sector. Field offices made grants not only to highlight the importance of women's contributions, but also to raise popular awareness of the constraints that have kept women's work an unrecognized, undervalued part of the development process. In Bangladesh, for example, a grant to the Ministry of Agriculture supported policy analysis of women's roles in food production and processing. In Kenya, Bangladesh, Nigeria, and Brazil, the Foundation funded conferences and seminars that examined women's legal status and their roles in socioeconomic development.

In India, the Foundation encouraged a consciousness-raising process by helping two individuals attend the 1975 International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City. The trip brought recognition to their pioneering work in organizing women street vendors, an often neglected but vital part of the informal sector in India and other areas of the Third World. The Foundation-supported Self-Employed Women's Association of Ahmedabad, an advocacy group for the vendors, has since served as a model for similar organizations in other regions of the country. Significantly, the two women who attended the 1975 U.N. meeting continue to advise the Indian government on employment opportunities for women.

Integrating women into all levels of the development process requires adequate education and training opportunities. In many parts of the developing world, however, girls face severe disadvantages in acquiring even a basic elementary education. Where schooling and training are available, boys often receive first priority; the same is true of technical training and university education. The advent of "modern" education and training frequently widens the opportunity gap between women and men.

Following the U.S. model, the International Division began to address this problem by funding both university fellowships and professional training for

women. A grant to the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania helped provide thirty fellowships for women pursuing master's degrees in various disciplines. The East Africa office of the Foundation also provided small grants for a study of the career patterns and problems of female agricultural extension workers, an evaluation of leadership training programs for women, and a study of model literacy projects designed specifically to reach women. In addition to training women, such initiatives conveyed to governments and the public the Foundation's concern over the dearth of female professionals in development work.

In general, the 1970s were a time of "consciousness raising" for many field-office staff members. Looking more closely at women's lives, they identified the specific problems that kept women from being full participants in and beneficiaries of the development process. An ongoing debate emerged over the relative merits of "women-specific" and "integrative" grants. The former included grants for projects specifically targeted at women and carried out by women's organizations; the latter usually referred to grants that sought to integrate women or projects designed to meet their particular needs into organizations or programs with purposes not specific to women. Concurrently, the Foundation's staff began to search out groups that women had formed or that worked on behalf of women's interests. This search was facilitated by the increasing presence of women on the Foundation's program staff, particularly in countries where segregation of the sexes in public life is the rule.

In this exploratory period, field-office grant making often proceeded on an ad hoc basis as the staff tested a variety of approaches and as groups came forward with specific proposals. Staff members, however, were identifying needs and appropriate strategies to address them. Where feminist organizations were relatively strong, grants helped further their efforts. Where they were not, the Foundation provided resources for women to speak and publish and encouraged the incorporation of women's issues into existing organizations. By 1979 International Division spending on women's programs had totaled some $5.2 million and showed promise for continued expansion.

For the Foundation, the years 1972 to 1979 represented an important period of experimentation and a modest, steady expansion in women's programming. The data on grants and budget levels in this period provide one significant index of progress. In a period of overall budget cutbacks, real growth occurred in the level of

spending for women's programs. In 1972 the Foundation spent 0.6 percent of its overall program budget on grants to broaden opportunities for women ($1,122,933); by 1979 that figure had risen to 5.1 percent ($1,117,150). The total sum over the 1972–1979 period was more than $30 million.

In June 1979 New York staff members who had been involved in building women's programs met to review their experience and achievements. These discussions produced a staff paper that Franklin Thomas, the newly appointed president, presented to the Trustees the following December. Summarizing the major developments of the 1970s, the paper placed the Foundation's work in a global context of persistent social and economic disadvantage for masses of women. The report, later published and widely distributed as the booklet *Women in the World*, stressed the universality of sex discrimination and the need for sustained efforts to challenge it, not only as a matter of defending fundamental rights, but also as a means to invigorate development strategies in the Third World. The report presented the Board with an agenda for continued efforts in support of women and recommended a special appropriation for an expanded women's program.

A Laguna Beach, California, firefighter. To increase women's income and employment opportunities, the Foundation has helped women gain access to jobs traditionally held by men.

In March 1980 the Board of Trustees approved a special appropriation for women's programs, which more than doubled the original $8.4 million allocation for the 1980–81 biennium. The new total of $19.3 million would support an expansion of the promising results of earlier programs and an exploration of new activities on behalf of women. The Trustees' action expressed approval for an ambitious, long-term commitment to such activities. The special appropriation—one of the Foundation's first major actions at the beginning of a new decade—was expected to integrate concern for women's issues in every relevant area of Foundation work, both in the United States and overseas.

To oversee the expanding grant program, the Foundation created the Women's Program Group (WPG). Reporting regularly to the president and Trustees, the WPG sought to

increase awareness of sex discrimination and to propose solutions by inviting guest speakers, holding seminars on various topics, and sending relevant publications to field offices. In many field offices, the Foundation added new staff members who focused on women's issues. Moreover, the New Delhi office, the Foundation's largest overseas unit, created a cross-program consulting and review committee similar to the WPG in New York. Finally, the budgeting process approved by the Trustees for the special appropriation contained a built-in funding incentive, offering a four-to-one match for regular budget funds redirected to support women's grants. In responding to this challenge, each office committed itself to maintaining the new, higher level of support for women's programs through the next two-year budget period.

With encouragement from the Trustees and the president, and with larger budget levels for both new staff and new program initiatives, women's programs grew rapidly. In 1979 they accounted for 5.4 percent of the Foundation's overall program spending. By the end of 1980, that percentage had doubled.

Because women's programs were relatively well established in the Foundation's two domestic divisions, the staff generally used new funds to deepen the Foundation's involvement in particular areas, especially teenage pregnancy, welfare-to-work programs, and research on women. Most field offices, on the other hand, had not yet developed strong, multidimensional women's programs, even though, in many cases, considerable time had been invested in learning about the issues and identifying people concerned about them. The special appropriation provided the means to advance women's programs in developing countries.

The rapid growth of women's programs in the early 1980s makes them difficult to summarize, a task further complicated by the Foundation's structural change in 1981 to a single, unified program division. This single program for work in the United States and overseas was subdivided into six thematic areas: urban poverty, rural poverty and resources, human rights and social justice, governance and public policy, education and culture, and international affairs. The Foundation's grant-making style also shifted, emphasizing experimentation and integrating women's programs and concern for women's issues into all of the Foundation's work. Encouraged to consider the effects of their work on such "target groups" as women and minorities, staff members expanded the range of grantees, putting greater emphasis on nongovernmental organizations. In developing countries, the Foundation supported an increasing variety of local, grass-roots initiatives.

The following pages give a brief overview of the Foundation's major efforts on behalf of women during the special-appropriation period, roughly 1980 to 1983. The main categories were employment and income, education and culture, and health and family. Each category encompassed the efforts of staff in domestic and field offices.

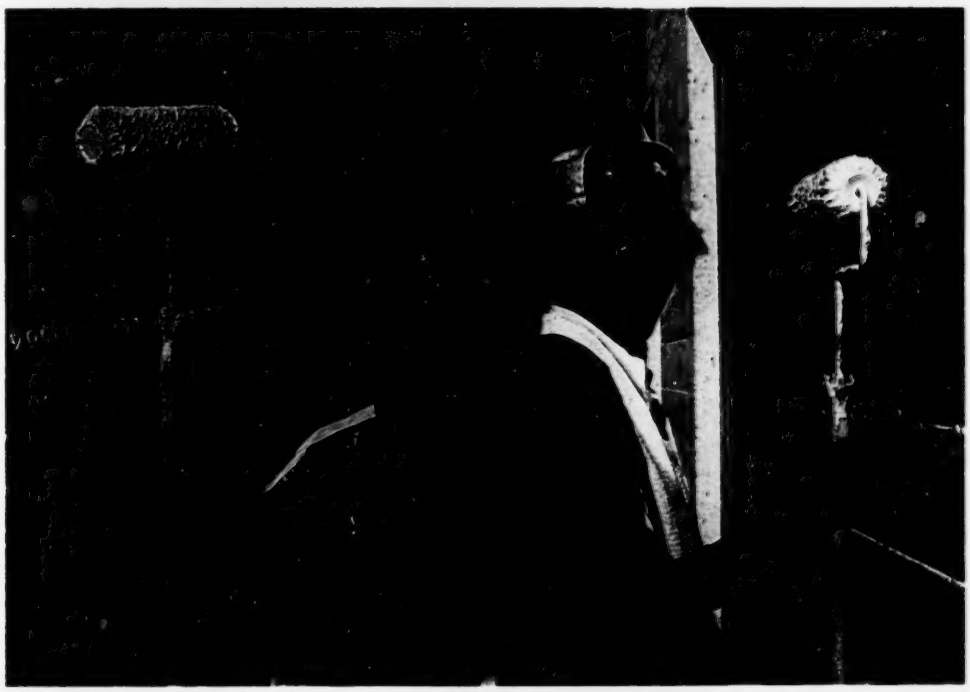
Employment and Income

The Foundation's efforts to improve women's income and employment opportunities expanded dramatically in the early 1980s. By then, increasing numbers of women had entered the labor force in the United States and abroad. The conditions under which women worked, however, showed persistent forms of sex discrimination and disadvantage, as well as continuing difficulties for many women in finding remunerated work at all.

In the United States, employment and income programs supported two broad strategies. The first was promoting women's access to jobs traditionally held by men. For example, Public/Private Ventures received support for a six-site project to apprentice low-income women as painters, plasterers, plumbers, and carpenters. The participants, many of them young mothers on welfare, earned from $8 to $10 per hour while training on the job with experienced union journeymen. The success of these women, not only in entering nontraditional trades but also in surmounting barriers to participation in trade unions, led to Foundation support for an expanded demonstration in 1984 and 1985. In another large-scale effort to promote women's access to nontraditional jobs, the Foundation supported the Coal Employment Project, which helped rural Appalachian women find high-paying mining jobs. Such grant making relied heavily on policies of affirmative action and on laws against sex discrimination. These often controversial projects helped change the atmosphere in fields where women's participation had been widely regarded as impossible. As a result, there were improvements not only in individual participants' incomes but also in employment opportunities for women generally.

The Foundation's second program strategy was to help upgrade predominantly female "pink collar" jobs—primarily domestic service, clerical, and other service employment. One particularly successful grant went to the Center for Women in Government at the State University of New York in Albany. After the center's detailed research exposed barriers encountered by state-employed women in moving from low-paying, female-dominated clerical jobs into better-paying jobs,

Public/Private Ventures, bottom, has received support for a six-site project to apprentice low-income women as painters, plasterers, plumbers, and carpenters. The Foundation has also assisted the Coal Employment Project, top, which helps rural Appalachian women find high-paying mining jobs, and the Southeast Women's Employment Coalition, opposite, which seeks to increase opportunities for women in road construction.



the Civil Service Employees Association and the state reached an agreement that offered clerical workers with a high school education the chance to qualify for professional positions. Moreover, the Civil Service Department created a separate unit charged with overseeing a new examination and training system and with investigating the possibility of creating further "bridge" programs. Thousands of female New York State employees have benefited from the center's efforts, which have also helped shape other state and local systems.

To improve conditions in traditionally "women's jobs," the Foundation made grants to the Working Women Education Fund for research and public education on office workers; the National Urban League's National Committee on Household Employment for public education on abuses commonly faced by household workers; the Women Employed Institute for improving the status of clerical workers in the insurance industry; and the National Committee on Pay Equity for the elimination of wage-setting in predominantly female occupations.

In developing countries, the Foundation also worked to improve women's earning ability and economic security. In the 1970s Foundation-supported research, conferences, and workshops had helped identify the typical forms of and constraints

on women's work. The special appropriation provided additional means to back grantees who used research findings in diverse, often experimental ways, as well as to continue support for vital data collection and training.

In developing countries, the principal Foundation strategy was to improve women's incomes in sectors where their labor was concentrated. Since the livelihoods of poor women in many parts of the Third World rely heavily on agriculture, Foundation efforts often centered on rural women's economic activities. Grants went to both governmental and nongovernmental agencies providing technical assistance to rural people. In Bangladesh, for example, the Foundation supported efforts to integrate women's programs and female development staff into the Ministry of Agriculture. In Peru, one-half of a grant to the Center for Peasant Research and Advancement was earmarked for organizing income-generating projects among peasant women. Such grants encouraged rural development organizations to include both women and women's concerns in their staffing, planning, and extension work. Foundation grants also aimed to integrate concern for women's needs in the research, training, and extension activities of such agricultural universities as Tamil Nadu University in India and Bogor Agricultural University in Indonesia.

Other grants addressed women's work in a wide variety of nonagricultural activities. To make women's off-farm work more productive and stable, the Foundation supported the Rural Women's Advisory Service, the only rural development organization in Mali that focused specifically on women's needs. The service tested a number of small-scale projects, including soap making, market gardening, and goat raising, and experimented with a revolving loan fund for rural women producers. In India, where a denser population and a longer history of income-generating efforts increased the grant-making options, the Foundation focused selectively on the large, agriculturally based employment systems in which women's labor was concentrated. As a result, grants were made to upgrade skills and economic returns in two areas, silk production and dairying, which not only employ large numbers of women and show promise of continuing growth, but also are of major interest to national policy makers.

Several Foundation field offices also paid increasing attention to the problems faced by poor women in the rapidly growing cities of the Third World. Many of these women belong to the vast informal sector, where lack of organization and

To purchase kettles, glasses, and other equipment, this tea seller in a Port Sudan refugee neighborhood received a loan from the Small Businesses Project, a Foundation-funded program of Euro Action-ACORD in London.

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A domestic worker in Johannesburg, where the South African Institute of Race Relations has received support to train leaders of the South African Domestic Workers' Association in salary negotiating, new skills, and legal rights.

poor access to credit have severely limited their income-earning prospects. In India, the Foundation responded with major support for the Working Women's Forum of Madras, which provides a model of organization, credit provision, and technical assistance. The forum's highly successful methods have spread to other regions.

Several field offices have moved into a new area of grant making: domestic workers' rights. The Rio de Janeiro office's grants to the Professional Associations of Domestic Workers of Rio and São Paulo were among the Foundation's first in this area. In Brazil, as in many other parts of the Third World, the ready availability of low-wage female domestic help has freed upper- and middle-class women from household chores and child care, while confining other women to these tasks in low-paying, insecure jobs. Principally minority, these women are often rural migrants whose long working hours and isolation from families — together with poor enforcement of the labor laws — make them extremely vulnerable and hard to organize.

To address this complex problem, grants have helped provide meeting places for domestic workers, courses on labor relations and health, and educational materials on the legal rights and obligations of both domestics and their employers.

H2

A grant to the Colombian Association for Population Studies supported similar efforts in four cities, using radio messages as well as informal courses to clarify labor rights. And in South Africa, the Domestic Workers' and Employers' Project of the South African Institute of Race Relations received assistance to link its efforts with an analogous project of the U.S. Urban League.

Finally, research on women's work roles continued to hold an important place in Foundation programming. In the United States, the Foundation supported research to examine the implementation of comparable-worth policies by public employers and to analyze gender-based differences in benefits provided by Social Security and private pension plans. In Arab countries, as in many other parts of the Third World, typical labor-force measurement techniques tend to underreport the extent of women's employment and ignore altogether many forms of women's work outside the range of standard categories. The Cairo office responded by drawing on the special appropriation to fund policy-oriented research on the measurement of female economic activity.

In the United States, the Foundation continued to support several major organizations that monitored enforcement of women's right to equal employment opportunities and that litigated when necessary. Among them were the ACLU Women's Rights Project, the Women's Law Fund, the Women's Rights Project of the National Center for Law and Social Policy, the Joint Project of the Women's Legal Defense Fund and Women Employed Institute, and the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund.

The Foundation's focus on women's economic security has provided important lessons. The most urgent need of poor women all over the world is to generate income. Furthermore, women are frequently not dependents but providers on whom others depend; an estimated one-third of *all* heads of families in the world are women. Projects that increase women's incomes may thus create a "ripple effect," benefiting not only individuals but also their children and families.

In addition, the Foundation has discovered that programs designed to increase women's economic security have often helped poor women organize, a critical step in gaining control over their own lives. Groups of Bangladeshi and Indian women who came together for loans from the Grameen Bank and Working Women's Forum report that they now collectively help one another confront problems of

domestic violence. In the United States, leaders of the Coal Employment Project have responded to inquiries from women across the country who are interested in organizing to enter areas of employment previously denied to them, particularly highway construction.

Because it is so basic and all-encompassing, the employment and income category encourages staff members to compare results, strengthening the development of program strategy. It stimulates discussion about the success or failure of programs, as well as about the differences between one cultural and political context and another. One grant-making area that illustrates the usefulness of cross-cultural comparisons is women's crafts projects. In the United States and overseas, the Foundation and other funders have been drawn to craft activities for many reasons. For example, these activities engage large numbers of women in poor rural areas who earn their livelihood through crafts. Foundation staff members have learned, however, that almost without exception, crafts projects face problems of quality control, marketing, and credit, and they rarely provide stable, sufficient earnings for artisans. Through experience in projects around the world, the Foundation has increased its understanding of the risks entailed in promoting craft work to generate income. As a result, most crafts projects currently supported are part of the Foundation's work in cultural preservation and revitalization.

Education, Research on Women, and the Arts

By the early 1980s the Foundation's women's programs in education had developed two major lines of work that the special appropriation extended. The first sought to broaden the content of education by incorporating knowledge about women's roles in society, cross-cultural variations of these roles, and gender roles generally. Building on the promising record of established centers for research on women, the Foundation supported the creation of new centers throughout the United States. From 1980 to 1983, the number of centers that received Foundation support grew from six to twenty, which widened the focus of research considerably.

In the early 1980s the Foundation refined its strategy of supporting centers for research on women. After an initial period of grant making to prestigious institutions, the staff recognized that this approach had disadvantages as well as advantages. On the one hand, it helped establish the seriousness of women's studies,

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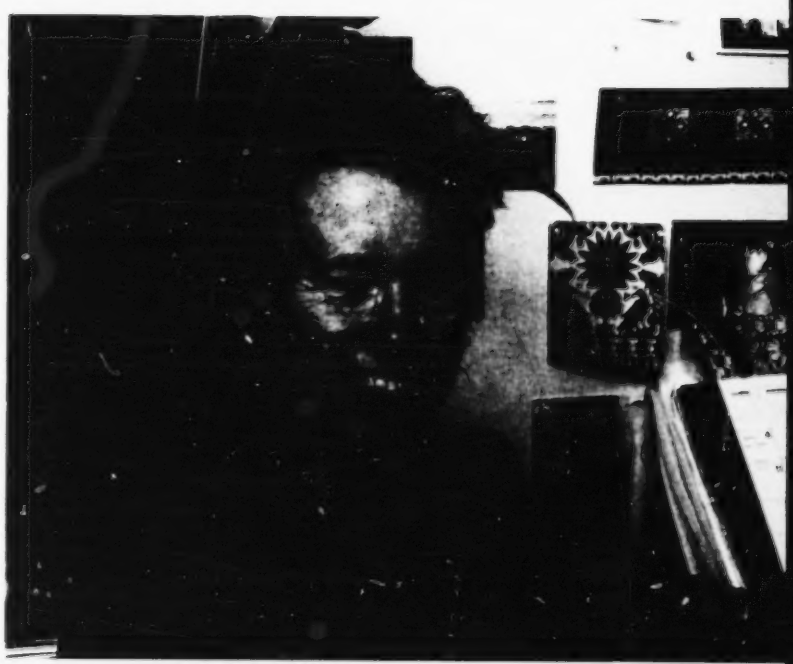

Professors Beverly Guy-Sheftall of Spelman College, top, Ann Lane of Colgate University, middle, and Peggy McIntosh of Wellesley College, bottom, are leading efforts to incorporate new scholarship on women into the undergraduate curriculum.

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drawing talented academics to an increasingly rich interdisciplinary field. Many scholars, however, tended to neglect minority women and women from developing countries, too often assuming that the experience of white middle-class American women was the norm. The Foundation has responded to this problem by supporting research by and about minority women. Memphis State University and the University of Arizona, for example, have received grants to integrate the study of race and gender.

The Foundation's interest in research on women carried over to the arts. With special appropriation funds, the American Film Institute received support for a program to help aspiring women directors obtain training and find jobs with major film studios. At the American Place Theatre in New York, the Foundation helped found and sustain the Women's Project, which promotes the careers of women playwrights and directors through readings and full productions. In addition, the Foundation has provided funds to present the work of women visual artists and to establish a national network of women in academic and professional theater.

The Foundation also assisted efforts to give U.S. higher education an international perspective on women, particularly in areas bearing on poor women's lives. Grants to Harvard, the University of Wisconsin, and Michigan State University backed experimental programs to integrate concern for women and gender-based differences in the curriculum of these institutions, all of which provide extensive technical assistance to organizations overseas and conduct programs of teaching and research on development at home. The International Center for Research on Women in Washington, D.C., also received support for research, workshops, and publications on women's roles in Third World development. And in 1982 the Foundation granted funds to the Feminist Press for introducing scholarship by women from developing countries into U.S. higher education.

With the explosive growth of information about women's issues came a growing problem—getting that information to policy makers. In 1980 the Women's Research and Education Institute (WREI), a nonpartisan fact-gathering adjunct of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, received Foundation support to build a close working relationship with thirty-six U.S. research centers on women. Bridging the gap between scholars and policy makers, WREI is recognized as a reliable provider of information on women's issues to policy makers and as a source of guid-

A scene from *Old Wives Tale*, a production of the Women's Project of the American Place Theatre in New York. The Women's Project promotes the careers of women playwrights and directors through readings and full productions.

ance to the centers in setting research priorities. The Foundation also assisted the formation of the National Council for Research on Women, which coordinates the policy-relevant work under way at various research centers. And support for the New York-based International Women's Tribune Center has helped to disseminate news of research, conferences, and workshops on women in development to an international audience.

The Foundation has also worked to make a place for new research on women in developing countries. Among the groups supported are the Carlos Chagas Foundation in Brazil, for a series of research competitions on women's topics in a variety of academic disciplines, and El Colegio de Mexico, for creation of an Interdisciplinary Women's Studies Program. These and other Foundation-supported programs not only have produced outstanding analyses of women's topics, but also have helped prepare women for careers as scholars and teachers.

In certain developing countries, notably India, women's studies originated within autonomous research institutes and focused on improving women's participation in national development. The Delhi office used special appropriation funds

Betty Dooley, right, executive director of the Women's Research and Education Institute, and Rep. Patricia Schroeder at the institute's 1986 annual conference, held at the Russell Senate Office Building.

to build both a corpus of research on women and to institutionalize the research in four major centers. Travel and study awards and support for a national association helped tie the centers' efforts together. The Foundation also helped establish the Center for Women's Development Studies, which has completed several policy-oriented analyses of the income needs of poor rural women in India and has started various employment projects.

Because researchers do not necessarily teach, much of the new scholarship on women in the Third World has yet to enter the curricula of higher education, the arena where policy makers of the future are developed. During the special-appropriation years, the Foundation sought to bring women's studies into higher education and to include research on women's roles in development. One of the most successful grants was made to the Women and Development Unit (WAND) of the University of the West Indies (UWI). Recognizing the university's key role in shaping future Caribbean leaders, WAND staff members launched a project to infuse various teaching programs with a concern for women. With Foundation support, they have worked in increasingly close collaboration with four key units of the UWI system: the Faculty of Agriculture; the School of Education; the Extra-Mural

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Department, which gives special courses for social workers and trade union leaders; and the Institute of Mass Communication.

Through grants to the African Association of Women for Research and Development in Senegal, the Foundation has supported a network of social scientists and feminist researchers who seek to promote better understanding of women's roles among development planners and policy makers across the continent. Similarly, a grant to the Development Studies Research Center of the University of Khartoum has supported research, seminars, and an informal "interest group" on women and development to encourage dialogue among researchers, policy makers, and development planners. And the Population Council received Foundation support for a diversified program of research and public education on the effects of major development projects and policies on women and families in Africa and Asia.

The second line of women's programming in education concerns women's and girls' access to a full range of educational offerings and to faculty and administrative positions. To help reduce sex discrimination in U.S. public schools, the Foundation has supported the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund's Project on Equal Education Rights (PEER). From a small, Washington-based project focused on a single piece of legislation—Title IX—PEER has developed into a national network of community-based organizations dedicated to broadening opportunities for both boys and girls in local public schools.

In Foundation field offices, staff members have continued to seek ways to expand the pool of qualified female professionals for development work. Several field offices used special appropriation funds to support training programs. For example, grants to Addis Ababa University, the University of Zimbabwe, Bangladesh Agricultural University, and the Social Science Foundation in Indonesia aimed to advance women within their universities as well as in development-planning institutions.

Foundation-supported research in the early 1980s helped clarify issues raised by feminists and women's movements around the world. Digging out the facts—whether about job segregation and the "wage gap" in the United States, or about women's predominance in agriculture in much of Africa—has produced both evidence of women's disadvantage and new opportunities to tap their potential. Such research has provided women's movements with a firm foundation for challenging entrenched attitudes, practices, and policies.

Within higher education, scholars with a feminist perspective have enriched numerous fields of study by challenging their basic assumptions. For example, new approaches in psychology have questioned the Freudian concept of feminine sexuality. Revised methods of studying primate behavior, along with an influx of female scientists in that field, have challenged earlier theories about male dominance and female passivity, illuminating the ways in which gender roles develop. And feminist perspectives have helped shape the new emphasis on social history as well as contemporary literary criticism, not merely by adding women and their work to the lists of great names and classic titles, but by questioning assumptions about the writing of history and the perpetuation of a literary canon.

Finally, the increasing prominence of women in education—as students, teachers, and researchers—provides important role models. Foundation-supported pioneers have been important not only for their work but also for their symbolic value as capable, articulate, and educated leaders.

Health and Family

Foundation programs addressing health and family issues are the oldest women's programs, though they have not always been classified as such. Years before the Foundation as a whole focused on women's rights and needs, the Population Office made contraception a grant-making priority. Beginning in the 1980s, the Foundation's work on health and family issues changed significantly. Because family-planning services had become a concern of governments around the world, the Foundation redefined its role in the population field. Staff members decided to concentrate on the determinants of fertility more broadly and on "high risk" populations—teenage parents and mothers likely to give birth to low-weight babies.

Women of Rose Hall, St. Vincent, where the Women and Development Unit of the University of the West Indies launched a Foundation-sponsored project to enhance their skills, self-confidence, and leadership capabilities.

The Child Survival/Fair Start (CS/FS) program, a major Foundation initiative launched in 1982, evolved from the Foundation's Nutrition Task Force and from the Population Office's efforts to encourage access to contraception and family planning. The basic objective of the many CS/FS demonstrations in the United States has been to reduce the incidence of low birth weight and to promote breast-feeding and intellectual stimulation of the very young. In the Third World, programs have sought to reduce infant mortality by providing poor families with knowledge of good nutrition and health care. In both the United States and abroad, Foundation-supported projects stress self-reliance and community assistance in coping with health problems. Although not formally designated "women's programs," these projects have benefited women by reducing unwanted pregnancies and the burden of sickly children. They have also encouraged women to organize and work for changes in other areas of their lives. Having formed around questions of good nutrition and health practices, mothers' groups may go on to start income-generating projects.

The Foundation's programs for teenage parents in the United States also began with models tested during the 1970s, which by the 1980s had grown into major national demonstrations. Programs such as Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation's Project Redirection have tried to help parents and their children avoid the damaging consequences of early pregnancy by providing child care and encouraging teenagers to return to school or train for jobs. In addition to working with teenagers who already have children, the Foundation has begun funding experimental efforts to help teens avoid unwanted pregnancies. Grants are testing the effectiveness of school-based programs of sex education and counseling for

teenage students. Like CS/FS, these programs are not strictly "women's programs": indeed, one of their goals is to engage young men in the responsibilities of parenting. However, the Foundation's heightened concern for women and the connection between early pregnancy and poverty among women have been crucial in shaping this major programming effort.

A related line of work pursued by certain field offices has been educating women about reproductive health, increasing their understanding of their sexuality, and reducing their vulnerability to unsafe practices and treatments. The Cairo office has supported the dissemination of health information and the publication of an Arabic health guide for women, similar to the U.S. volume *Our Bodies, Ourselves*. The Brazil office has helped the SOS-Corpo Women's Health Group hold workshops on women's health and sexuality and to organize self-help groups among adolescents and women in poor neighborhoods of Recife. The group's educational methods—which include producing skits and modeling with clay—have been successful in engaging women, their partners, and children in discussions of health and human reproduction. Members of the group have increasingly been called upon to advise other community groups and government health programs on health services for poor women.

The Foundation has also devoted attention to the controversial problems of freedom of reproductive choice and access to safe and sanitary abortion services. Safe, accessible abortion services are essential to the health and economic security of women, especially low-income, disadvantaged women, many of whom are single mothers with dependent children. Although Foundation support for abortion-related activities dates back to 1973, when the Preterm Institute received a grant for disseminating standards for safe abortion services, special appropriation funds enabled the Foundation to expand the range of grantees and to try a variety of approaches. Grants have been made to encourage dialogue among those who occupy the large middle ground between polarized extremes, to strengthen the voice of groups such as Catholics for a Free Choice, and to produce a major study of the assumptions of opposing groups. *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood* by Kristin Luker. Fewer abortion-related grants emerged in the field offices, with the important exception of Bangladesh, which provided support to the Bangladesh Women's Health Coalition for educating and training providers of menstrual-regulation services.

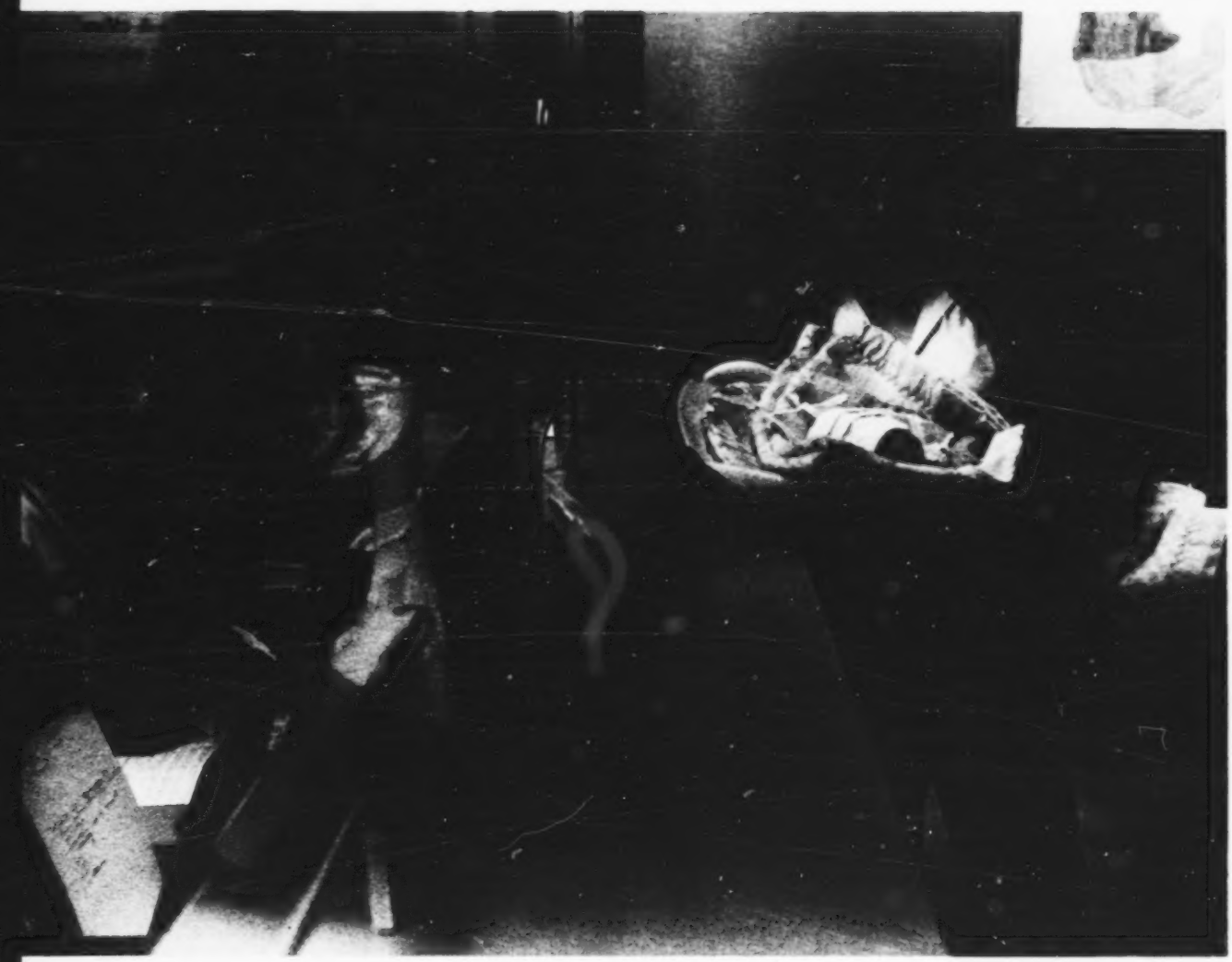
A mother nurses her infant outside a clinic in Bangladesh, one of the many developing countries where the Foundation supports efforts to improve the health of mothers and children.

Abortion-related grants have been consistent with efforts to help the disadvantaged, as safe abortions are much more readily accessible to middle- and upper-class women than to poor women. Moreover, grants encouraging safer abortion services are a logical part of a broader, coherent program of fertility-related services. Taking into account women's and men's needs at various stages of their lives, the Foundation's program supports parents who seek help raising and supporting children, who want to avoid pregnancy, or who want to terminate an unwanted pregnancy.

In the 1980s the Foundation became increasingly involved in legal and advocacy efforts dealing with a wide range of health and family issues of great concern to poor women in developing countries—for example, inheritance, dowry, divorce, and child custody. Grants have supported "legal literacy campaigns" among women in poor areas of Nigeria and rural Nepal, and helped establish legal counseling centers in poor urban neighborhoods of Lagos, Lima, Bogotá, Belo Horizonte, Amman, and Ahmedabad. These experimental programs, varying considerably from one location to another, all stress the importance of building legal competence at the grass-roots level, particularly in matters of family law.

Many of these grantees have paid particular attention to problems of violence against women, a subject that has galvanized women around the world, particularly in Latin America and India. The Foundation has backed such groups as Jyoti Sangh in Ahmedabad, the Center for the Defense of Women's Rights in Belo Horizonte, and the Center for Information and Resources for Women in Bogotá. Offering counseling and shelter to victims of rape and battering, these grass-roots organizations seek to improve the capacity of police and health systems to deal with domestic violence. Although violence against women has been most directly addressed in the Foundation's programs in developing countries, some Foundation initiatives have supported experimental projects in the United States. For example, a low-interest loan has helped the Jersey City YWCA redesign and renovate its building, which serves as a shelter for battered women, a home for teenage girls, and a learning center for "pre-delinquent" children.

Protecting refugee and migrant women has also been a focus of Foundation grant making in the United States. These women are often subjected to rape, assault, and sexual harassment and are sometimes denied access to legal assistance. The Overseas Education Fund's Refugee Women in Development program has publicized the security needs of refugee women in transit and in overseas camps and has worked to adapt U.S. domestic-violence counseling programs to the circumstances of refugee women. The U.S. Committee for Refugees and the Refugee Policy Group have published reports emphasizing refugee women's special needs and have listed programs aimed at helping them become self-sufficient. Finally, groups such as the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights have used special-appropriation funds to report on the maltreatment of refugee women.



To help teenage parents and their children avoid the damaging consequences of early pregnancy, the Foundation funds programs that provide parenting information and encourage teenagers to return to school or train for jobs.

Acts of violence against women cannot simply be consigned to the realm of the irrational, for they are often symptoms of deeper conflicts with cruelly "rational" explanations. As recent U.S. history illustrates, domestic violence tends to increase in periods of economic depression and unemployment. Moreover, violence against women is deeply ingrained in cultural practices around the world, from the dowry-related deaths in South Asia and female circumcision in Africa to patterns of "macho" behavior in the Americas. Rather than neglect problems of violence because of their highly sensitive nature, the Foundation has supported local groups that develop appropriate strategies likely to reduce and end violent practices. Building knowledge is an important first step. Because violence against women is a problem infrequently considered at the policy-making level, studies of such activities can have a strong impact and lead to change, in both policies and attitudes.

Several developments indicate that women's programs have matured and are now an integral part of the Foundation's work. One is the general shift in programming from women-specific research toward the integration of such research into wider educational and development efforts. As staff members have learned,

In developing countries, the Foundation helps poor women secure family and property rights through such projects as legal literacy campaigns in rural Nepal, left, and legal counseling centers in Lima, Peru, right.

research in a new field is often a first step toward more direct "hands-on" approaches that incorporate research findings into their design. The results of these approaches then feed back into further documentation and research, which in turn leads to further action. Although Foundation women's programs necessarily began largely with research, it is a sign of their maturity, and the heightened staff sensitivity to gender-based differences, that these programs are now a healthy blend of research and action.

A second encouraging sign is the Foundation's attention to frontier issues—such as property rights of Muslim women or comparable-worth policies in the United States—which are often complex and controversial. This commitment implies support for both individual and institutional pioneers. For the most part, individuals receiving Foundation support have built effective organizations; pioneering groups have matured into relatively stable, well-directed entities.

Another healthy trend actually leads away from women's programs per se, while at the same time signaling their success: the merging of grant categories. Now the Foundation often helps significant numbers of women through grants not pri-

Ruth Fonseca of the Mexico City Rape Crisis Center counseling a rape victim. The center not only provides medical, legal, and psychological help to victims but also publishes information aimed at reducing the incidence of rape.

marily designed for them. Grantees such as the Grameen Bank, which provides credit for landless people in rural Bangladesh, are now explicitly concerned about reaching both women and men. Similarly, Foundation-supported programs for refugees and migrants assist women who in increasing numbers are joining the migrant stream. During the grant-negotiations stage, staff members may specify "targets" for including women in Foundation-funded programs, as was the case with the Integrated Social Services Center in Egypt, which established a special women's unit as part of a larger grant to assist village-level community development. Under a coding system that cannot highlight every nuance of a grant-making officer's intentions, such actions may not show up in the Foundation's statistics on "women's grants."

The integration of a women's component in a grant can be a healthy development; it may also represent the logical continuation of an original women-specific grant. But it is worth noting that a women-specific grant leading to an integrated grant should not be regarded as the only appropriate sequence. Instead, these two broad types of grants should be considered complementary approaches to the complexity of women's disadvantage. The Foundation's experience has shown that a mix of both women-specific and integrated grants is needed over a long-term period to ensure that women's issues are not relegated to the margin of program concerns.

In addition to qualitative assessments of the success of women's programs, an important quantitative measure must be taken: the doubling of aggregate spending on women's programs during the special-appropriation years. Taken together, the measures of quality and quantity indicate both rich diversity and a durable commitment to women's programs.

It is important to examine the reasons behind the success of the special appropriation period, especially for the lessons it holds for entry into other subject

areas. The increased budget allocation only partially explains the progress. The special appropriation's considerable impact resulted from several internal factors, including high-level support for the effort, special staffing measures, and the Foundation's willingness to make clear public statements about its programs and goals.

The endorsement of the Board and the new president and the seriousness with which they approached program expansion contributed significantly to the success of women's programming. Foundation staff members quickly learned of the subject's importance, their obligations to be informed about it, and recognition for success in programming. Thus, the question was not whether to fund programs in support of women, but how to do so most effectively.

An infusion of new, mostly female staff members and the creation of the "circuit rider" position for developing countries brought new perspectives, new energy, and increased numbers of staff members who constituted a support group to be called upon as needed. This experience vividly exemplifies the efficacy of internal affirmative action and its impact on programming. Moreover, the appointment of a special staff member and the Women's Program Group to oversee the program expansion and to report regularly to the president and Trustees ensured that interest would not diminish.

Finally, public statements of the Foundation's commitment to women's programs signaled the seriousness of its efforts. In addition to dramatically increasing the budget—a public statement in itself—the Foundation published and distributed several documents that articulated its assessment of needs and goals. Such measures not only helped legitimize the work of other groups concerned with women's issues, but also stimulated proposals from groups that might not otherwise have sought Foundation support. Booklets such as *That 51%, That 51% +*, and *Women in the World*, 45,000 copies of which have been distributed outside the Foundation, have drawn inquiries from other donors about collaborative work, providing opportunities to strengthen the impact of the Foundation's programs.

Delegates at Forum '85, the meeting of nongovernmental organizations at the U.N. conference on women in Nairobi, Kenya. The Foundation made grants to several organizations participating in the conference.

Although the special-appropriation period ended in 1983, the completion of the U.N. Decade for the Advancement of Women in 1985 seemed an appropriate time for the Foundation to consider the future of its women's programs. The last years of the U.N. decade were notable for a worldwide economic slowdown that affected women's economic prospects, for evidence of increasing religious fundamentalism, and for growing resistance to many of the policies that had improved women's status. These and other shifts in the context of the Foundation's work suggested the need to reassess and refine our program strategies. With that in mind, Foundation staff met in July and October of 1985 to discuss and, where necessary, recast priorities. These discussions ranged widely and made frequent reference to topics covered at the U.N. conference on women, held in Nairobi, which signaled both the

tremendous accomplishments of the global women's movement and the need for continued efforts.

Close to 15,000 delegates and voluntary participants—one-third of whom were from developing nations—swamped Nairobi's facilities as they moved among 1,000 workshops and panels at the nongovernmental organizations' gathering, "Forum '85," and at sessions of the official governmental conference. They came not only to talk about women's problems, but also to celebrate the strong and positive roles women play in their cultures and the contributions they can make to world peace and survival. Press coverage notwithstanding, a high proportion of the panel sessions and other discussions were notable for their seriousness and professionalism, the understanding between Third and First World feminists, and the sophistication with which divisive issues were managed.

The Foundation has concluded that a timely way to expand and deepen future women's programming is to borrow techniques used at the conference. The Foundation will sponsor seminars on some of the most critical issues that feminist researchers, activists, and policy makers will confront in the decade ahead. Such seminars, to be held in New York and in developing country offices, will draw on the experience of prominent scholars and activists, who will join Foundation staff members and representatives of other interested funding organizations in reflecting on programming challenges and accomplishments, as well as on certain negative consequences of changing male and female roles.

Responsibility for planning the proposed Foundation seminar series and coordinating the Foundation's work with other donors rests with a formally constituted group of staff members, both from New York and field offices. This group, called the Women's Program Forum, will choose the topics, venues, and participants for each of the seminars. The group will also help track gender issues and the progress of women's programs.

The official government conference in Nairobi produced an important consensus document, "The Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women," which has now been adopted by 157 countries. It is addressed to governments and nongovernmental organizations. Along with the U.N. convention on eliminating discrimination against women, the forward-looking strategies provide donors with internationally recognized statements of values and standards that can form the basis for future work. These statements, however, need to be translated

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Dame Nita Barrow of Barbados, who convened Forum '85, observed in her opening-day address: "We are different women from the women we were ten years ago. No, not just older. Stronger. Bolder. Surer."

from U.N. jargon into more direct language that can generate, stimulate, and reinforce movements for change at the national and local levels. As the U.N. and national governments turn to other subjects, this translating role will fall largely to others. The Foundation and other donors can play a catalytic role by funding those who will produce readable and inspiring versions of the forward-looking strategies and by sponsoring regional and national meetings to discuss the next steps in making the strategies a reality.

The resounding conclusion of the Nairobi conference and the decade was that work for women's advancement and the benefits it will confer on others has only begun. Dame Nita Barrow of Barbados, who convened the nongovernmental organizations' forum, observed in her opening-day address:

> In spite of the gloomy statistical indices which are available in the world survey of women's current status worldwide; in spite of the fact that we shake our heads and rue the elusiveness of freedom and equality; we have

> caught a glimpse of the word "possible," and we know we feel different, that we are different women from the women we were ten years ago. No, not just older. Stronger. Bolder. Surer.

The Foundation can help to maintain progress, not only in the broad catalytic role described above but also in the specific program areas of employment and income generation, education and public policy, and health and family. These areas are described below.

Employment and Income

As a result of the decade's programs, politicians, economists, and activists are beginning to recognize that improvements in women's status and opportunities are crucial to attaining developmental and other social goals. There is increasing recognition that poor women's needs should be at the heart of "people centered" approaches to community revitalization and development. In the United States, increasing attention is being paid to the "feminization of poverty," to the unacceptably high levels of teen pregnancy, and to the problems caused by multigenerational welfare dependency and family violence. Enabling women to compete for well-paid jobs, to choose when to have children, and to live free of violence is now recognized as essential to community stability and justice. Unless society succeeds in these areas, there will continue to be high levels of poverty and antisocial behavior. In developing countries, research, effective advocacy, and grass-roots experimentation have contributed to this recognition. Now the challenge is to translate these insights into effective, larger programs.

The Foundation's staff continues to believe that improving women's employment opportunities and their income-generating capacity will stimulate important changes in other parts of their lives as well as improvements in their communities. In the United States, the Foundation anticipates significant funding for welfare-to-work programs, for experimental assistance to low-income entrepreneurs and the self-employed, for teen pregnancy-prevention and parenthood programs, and for improved child-care systems. All of these efforts need to move beyond small-scale experiments and projects to large-scale programs. Because of the continuing gap between men's and women's earnings and status and because of the changing nature of the U.S. job market, the Foundation will seek to ensure that women have equal opportunity to compete effectively in expanding technical fields.

A young mother with her children at a Project Redirection site in Brooklyn, N.Y. This Foundation-supported program of the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation encourages self-sufficiency among teen mothers.

Many of the organizations that have conducted ground-breaking work for women — for example, the Women's Legal Defense Fund, the Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research on Women at Brown University, and the Women and Development Unit at the University of the West Indies — are now so widely recognized that we tend to take their existence for granted. But the future of such organizations depends in part on their ability to develop broad funding bases and the financial strength to weather difficult times. The Foundation will make a major effort to work with particularly effective groups to ensure their long-term future. Finally, the

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Foundation expects to support public-information activities that clarify why women work, why they sometimes seek nontraditional jobs, and the fundamental rights to which they are entitled.

For several field offices, future employment and income-generation projects will have two principal aims: increasing the scale and sophistication of such projects and their direct benefits for poor women; and increasing their influence on development policies and policy makers. Grants to build local capacity to design and evaluate projects sensitive to gender will focus on training and support of local researchers and institutions, including intermediary organizations that provide technical and financial assistance. Some offices will target particular employment sectors for women's programs, selecting sectors that engage large numbers of poor women, enlarge their access to new technologies, and offer prospects of long-term growth. In India, recent grants to promote sericulture and dairying illustrate the benefits of such an approach. The Foundation will also encourage attempts to ascertain policy implications of women-specific projects and to present these findings to decision makers, planners, and public and private development organizations.

These grant-making strategies reflect hard-won lessons from the successes and failures of the past decade. Because of limited scale, inadequate funding and technical support, and engagement in marginal activities outside the economic mainstream, many income-generating projects failed to achieve significant, sustained income gains for their participants. And even those projects that achieved some success frequently lacked the documentation and evaluation necessary to build a persuasive case for broader adoption and needed changes in credit, marketing, and technology policy. Thus, despite progress in the women's decade, most development agencies still undervalue gender differentiation in planning and carrying out their activities.

In both the United States and developing countries, the Foundation will encourage affirmative action to bring women knowledgeable about employment and income-generation projects into mainstream development agencies and community revitalization. And because the Foundation is in many places uniquely positioned to facilitate contacts between women's groups and other development organizations, the staff will encourage such collaboration.

Education and Public Policy

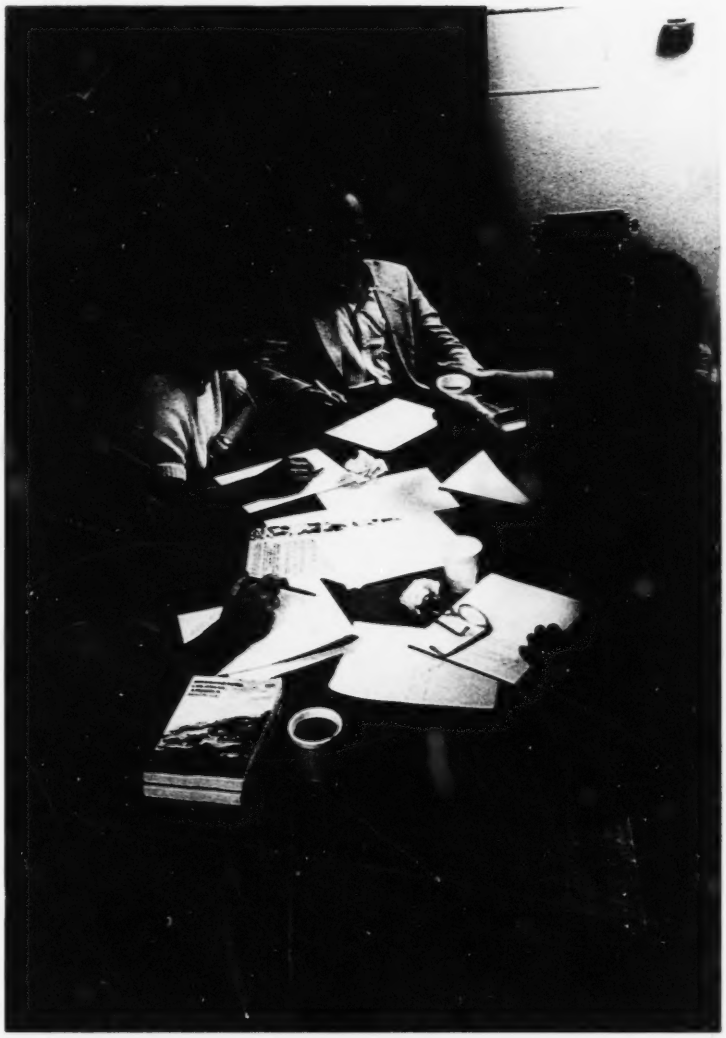
The evidence clearly indicates that educating women produces dramatic ripple effects. In the developing world, statistics show that as women's educational opportunities expand, family sizes decrease and children's health and education improve. In the United States, the stream of educated women progressed swiftly once barriers to employment were lowered. Thus, the Foundation will encourage women's education and training, which is already a priority of the field offices in Asia and Africa.

Over the past decade women's studies and women's policy research groups have contributed important new insights that are helping to refocus national policies and whole fields and disciplines. One principal challenge is ensuring that new women's studies scholarship continues to move into the academic mainstream. Another is avoiding the elitism of some early women's studies efforts, which focused primarily on white, upper-middle-class women. A third challenge is educating policy makers about the links between improvements in women's status and broader community benefits, and between women's roles and such worldwide phenomena as the internationalization of the labor force, food and debt crises, industrialization in the Third World, and migration. The Foundation will assist women's studies groups, researchers, and teachers engaged in both ground-breaking research and mainstreaming work. Funding for travel and study, workshops, seminars, and publications will encourage communication with policy makers.

Moreover, as with employment and income generation, a priority will be helping centers for academic and policy research on women mature institutionally. Many of these centers, still relatively young and fragile, face a difficult time over the next few years because of funding cuts in research budgets. The Foundation, one of the few organizations able to help out with core costs as well as with specific research and action projects, will encourage centers to hone their management skills, identify what they do best, and then concentrate on developing their comparative advantage.

Health and Family

The Nairobi conference highlighted two areas related to health and family that are particularly important and sensitive: women's reproductive health, and their rights



A graduate seminar of student-teachers who are helping integrate new research on women into the contemporary civilization curriculum at Columbia University. This "mainstreaming" effort is part of a Foundation-sponsored program to incorporate new perspectives on women at ten formerly all-male colleges.

and roles within families. Too frequently in the developing world, population programs are ineffective in reaching those who want to limit family size. Maternal mortality is unacceptably high, and women experience chronic and debilitating infections of the reproductive system. Moreover, fertility-related health services overseas and in the United States appear threatened by funding cuts and limits on services.

Foundation-supported programs concerned with women's income and education help solve these health and family problems. Women who begin to have economic power can start changing other parts of their lives. They can seek family planning, and their earnings and education can help improve their families' health practices. Such programs, however, cannot always affect the quality and availability of fertility-related health services, an area in which the Foundation can play an important role. In the United States, we will continue to support advocacy for the full range of services for women who choose to delay or proceed with childbearing, and to provide disadvantaged women with the same basic services available to women with higher incomes. Overseas, we expect to support model clinics providing

high-quality fertility-related health services and training for service providers. Such clinics will demonstrate the feasibility of providing services to which women will return. Another strategy will be to link more closely reproductive health services and our programs in child survival and in employment and income generation. Several field offices have found that women who organize for income-generating purposes often become more interested in family planning.

Family roles and rights for women are complex subjects that the Nairobi conference displayed in their full variety. The surge of religious fundamentalism in many parts of the world has reduced options for women in such superficial areas as dress, and more fundamentally in education, mobility, and daily economic activity. In many countries, women's rights in the family are restricted, and their physical abuse by family members is accepted as a private matter. Foundation staff members anticipate building on relatively new programs that educate women about their legal rights as citizens and family members, that support their efforts to reform laws, that promote public understanding of new roles for men and women, and that seek more responsiveness from the police and judicial systems in dealing with physical abuse.

Finally, in the United States and in other countries where significant numbers of women work outside the home, the Foundation will explore approaches to what some regard as a "sticking point" in the women's movement — conflicts caused by the competing demands of work and family. In many societies, women have moved into all levels of the work force but usually with little change in their family roles and responsibilities. Probably the largest reallocated share of women's traditional work has been taken up by fast-food outlets and by their street-vendor counterparts in the Third World. The lack of change within families produces stress, as women become overworked and as tensions mount between family members over who should do what. These stresses can also result in undesirable reductions in children's care and nurturance.

Patterns of family relations are unlikely to change unless we see examples of courageous men and women who are trying to make adjustments and unless we have employers who are open to workplace experiments that facilitate family life for all their employees. To date, examples of either have been few and far between, and such experiences have infrequently been recorded and analyzed. In fact, the Foundation's own foray into the child-care field in the early and mid-1970s was

A patient conferring with a doctor at a clinic in Bangladesh, where unsafe abortions kill more than 8,000 women annually. The Foundation supports programs in developing countries that educate women about reproductive health, increase their understanding of sexuality, and reduce their vulnerability to unsafe practices and treatments.

one of several unsuccessful program initiatives that had been designed to explore changing work and family roles. In addition to encouraging a strong federal child-care program, the Foundation investigated ways of increasing the number of male child-care providers, the legal and employment barriers to child rearing encountered by men, and the psychology of father-child relationships. Little of this work found broad, national acceptance, and most of it was ultimately discontinued.

A decade later, however, there is broad recognition of the need to re-examine gender roles and families' abilities to nurture and care for children when the sole parent or both parents are employed. The Foundation expects to explore this subject and to identify useful program initiatives in the third phase of the women's program. The aim will be to increase family-work options for men and women so they can find and provide caring support while pursuing their work and personal lives. The Foundation believes that increasing these options is of fundamental importance to the quality of the society in which we and our children live.

Conclusions

At the end of the Decade for the Advancement of Women, and on the eve of a new decade's efforts, feminists can take pride in the progress of women's movements, a process in which the Foundation has played a facilitating role. In little more than a decade, the Foundation has become a leading private funder in matters of women's rights and opportunities, both in the United States and abroad. The women's program clearly expresses the Foundation's historic commitment to the values of freedom, equality, pluralism, and choice in society, and it supports and encourages attention to basic human rights that are recognized by an increasing number of nations. Moreover, the program responds to specific local concerns and to the need for worldwide communication on feminist issues. Thus, during a remarkable decade in which women's concerns and women's voices have emerged around the world, the Foundation has helped ensure that new viewpoints are heard and translated into action.

It is crucial that the Foundation continue to play a supportive role in this compelling, diversified movement for a humane and just social order. Although much positive change has occurred over the past decade, much remains to be done. Fiscal austerity, worsening income distribution, imbalances between population and natural resources, and other concerns distract attention from women's circumstances. When, for example, nations are unable to feed their own people, it is easy to brush aside women's call for dignity and equality. We too easily forget not only that women are frequently the principal providers of food, but also that their perceptions of their own opportunities influence their ideas about such matters as family size and resource management. Women's programs, women leaders, and feminist ideas can help all people develop new insights that should be incorporated into public policy. Such insights make the world a fairer place and open up options for both men and women. Encouraging the next generation of feminist leaders, stabilizing the organizations and networks that serve women, and maintaining a clear focus on poor women's situation will be essential in meeting the challenges of the decades to come.

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